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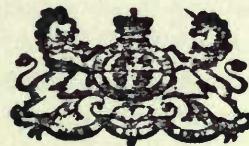
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NOTES
ON THE
ANCIENT GEOGRAPHY OF BURMA
(I)

BY

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NOTES ON THE ANCIENT GEOGRAPHY OF BURMA.

THE *Punnovāda-sutta* of the *Samyutta-nikāya* is found, almost word for word, in the Sanskrit version of the celebrated Legend of Purna, as translated by Burnouf from the *Divyāvadāna*.¹ The Pāli Sutta does not give us any further information concerning this interlocutor of the Buddha; but the commentaries or *Atthakathā* give, as a rule, the history of the persons mentioned in the texts.² Consequently, while looking over the voluminous commentary on the *Saññiyutta*, I have found therein the Legend of Punna (Sanskrit *Pūrṇa*) such as it is known to the Southern School of Buddhism, or, at least, that part of the legend which the commentators have thought fit to insert in their work: for if the *sutta* itself seems to be but an extract (unless one prefers to see in it the nucleus round which the legend later on developed itself), the commentary gives to the careful reader the impression that it (the commentary) is but an abridgment from which are omitted secondary incidents known to the Sanskrit version. Two points seem to me to admit of no doubt: on the one hand, the story existed before the evolution peculiar to Northern Buddhism, since the *Purnāvadāna* contains the Pāli *sutta*; on the other, it had remained quite popular amongst the Southern Buddhists up to the time of the redaction of the *Saññiyuttatthakathā*, for this commentary introduces the two brothers in the story with the words "ete dve Bhātaro," without these "two brothers" having yet been mentioned. This detail confirms me in the opinion that the compilers whose intention was merely to recall that part of the story relating to the country of Sunāparanta, have not judged necessary to reproduce in its

(¹) *Samyutta* or *Saññiyutta-nikāyā*, ed. Feer, Vol. IV, page 60; *Divyāvadāna*, ed. Cowell and Neil, pages 24—55. Burnouf, *Introduction*, ed. 1844, pages 235—276; ed. 1876, page 209—245.

(²) Most of these commentaries have not yet been edited and are therefore unknown to scholars in Europe.

entirety a legend already well known and such probabiy, except a few unimportant details, as we have it in the *Divyāvadāna*. The fact is that the *Divyāvadāna* is unknown in Burma,¹ but in the "History of the Foot-Print,"² we find another legend forming a kind of introduction to that of the *Sannayutta* commentary, and from this we may infer that the Sanskrit version has not been altogether unknown in Burma. The Legend of Punna contains,

(¹) We have reasons to believe that Sanskrit was known in Burma before Pāli. The Burmese of the 10th and 11th centuries dispels all doubts on this point: for in the inscriptions of that period are found words clearly derived from Sanskrit, and not only technical terms, but words which must have already been in popular use, such as, for example, *prassad*, from Sanskrit *präsāda*, the Pāli being *päsāda*; *Sakrā* = Sanskrit *Cakra* (Pāli *sakka*). After its introduction into Pagan, Pāli was studied with great fervour, and the first outcome of these studies, about one century after the fall of Thatôn, was the *Sadda-nīti*, a grammar of the *Tripitaka*, and the most comprehensive in existence. Forchhammer gives 1156 A.D. as the date of this work; but Aggavamsa, the author, himself says that it was completed in 1154 A.D. Now, Aggavamsa, in the second part of his grammar, the *Dhōtumālā* or "Garland of Roots," gives here and there the equivalent Sanskrit forms. It is therefore plausible to suppose that Sanskrit existed at Pagan in the 11th century at least and was scientifically studied before Pāli, for the first work in the latter language written in Burma bases itself on Sanskrit grammar to explain a few Pāli forms. Another proof is the use, in the dates of the 11th and the 12th centuries of the Hindu astronomical terminology; for instance, Asan = Ācvini (1054 A.D.); Mrikkasō = Mrgaciras (1081 A.D.), etc. The *Siddhanta*, then, must have been known in Pagan anterior to those dates. Moreover, certain names of places and rivers indicate a familiarity, very probably already secular in Anorata's time with Hindu mythology; to give but one example: on the banks of the Irrawaddy (=Pāli, *Erāvati* = Sanskrit *airāvati*), the legend of the famous elephant *airāvata* is well known. Other proofs are less sure: thus Mr. Taw Sein Ko (*Notes on the Kālyāṇi Inscriptions*) speaks of bricks found at Tagoung and at Pagan itself, inscribed with legends in Sanskrit and older than the introduction of Southern Buddhism in Pagan; but Phayre says (*History of Burma*, page 14) that the legends were in Pāli. As it is very difficult to procure any of these bricks, I cannot settle this question; it is to be doubted whether even the Archaeological Museum in Rangoon possesses any; at least, none of these short legends has ever yet been deciphered. No Sanskrit inscription has yet been found in Burma: Dr. Führer, it is true, says (*Notes on an Archaeological tour in Upper Burma*) that he discovered two at Tagoung: but nothing more was ever heard of these two lithic inscriptions, of such a paramount importance if they do really exist, which I doubt very much.

(²) In Burmese: ရွှေတေသနဝင်ဆိုဒ္ဓိ (Rhve-cak-to-Samōn). The principal temples and pagodas each have their *saṁān* or "history." These histories, amid the overgrowth of marvelous tales, contain very precious historical informations, and give dates, which are generally exact, of contemporary events. Some of these *saṁān* have been utilized for the compilation of the *Mahārājavān*; but most of them are crumbling to pieces in the dust of monasteries.

according to the Burmese, the history of the two imprints of the Buddha's left foot, which he, the Master—after having, as it is written, spent one week in the magnificent monastery built with red sandal wood—left, one, on the bank of the မန္တေသနချောင်း (Man : Khyon)¹ stream, the other on the summit of the ဆာဂုဏ် (Saccaban) Hill,² whose foot is washed by the said stream. This hill, consecrated by the Buddha's presence, is situated near Saku, in the Minbu District, which is itself comprised in the Province of Aparanta or Sunāparanta ; for the Burmese have appropriated to themselves this name at the expense of the Konkan and apply it to the region which stretches, on the right bank of the Irrawaddy, behind and above Pagan. They have not the least doubt that Sunāparanta (Sanskrit Çronāparānta) of the Saññuttatthakathā, is the very same as the Burmese Province called by that name. The Legend is quoted in the *Mahārājavan* when recording the foundation of Prome;³ therein we are told that Vānijagāma is none else but the village called ခါဝိဘုရား (Lê Kine) by the Burmese and that it is situated in the Province of Sunāparanta.

(¹) "Charmed-stream"; *Man* = *manta* (Sanskrit *mantra*): it is the Nam-madā of the legend.

(²) Pron. *Thisaban* = *Saccabandha*: further on, we shall see the origin of this name.

(³) *Mahārājavan*, Vol. I, pages 167—168. Prome is written ပြေား Prañ, by the Burmese and the Arakanese. The Burmese pronounce Pyī and Pyè, the Arakanese, Pri. But the Môn (Talaings) write this word and pronounce it ကြေား Prôn, and ဂုဏ် Prawn. It is then in Talaing documents that we must look for the origin of this name, the signification of which I do not know; * the Talaings I have consulted could not give me any information on this point. Some, however, told me that this word ought to be written, "Prôm" (pronounced exactly as Prome); this word means "crushed, destroyed," and Criksetra has, they say, been so called since its destruction by the Môn (Talaings) some years before the foundation of Pagan. But this etymology is not worth stopping to consider. Namantā, in the *Rājavān*, is given as the name of the stream, which is also sometimes called after the Nāga's name; but Namantā is but a corruption of Nammadā.

* It has been urged that "Prome" is derived from "Brahma"; this may very well be. But it is remarkable that none of the nations that have known this old city call it by a name derived, according to their phonetics, from "Brahma." It was better known to them as Criksetra, or its modified equivalents. Phonetically, the Burmese and Arakanese ပြေား Prañ, cannot stand for "Brahma," and their pronunciation of it differs still more widely.

Now, the *Paganrājavāṇi* tells us that Lē Kine or Vāṇijagāma is in the Province of Pūrantappa. This name, Pūrantappa, applies to the region already mentioned in manuscripts, and is unknown to the majority of the Burmese, even to those well educated. However the case may be, the Legend, as it is understood by them, is interesting, in that it is a very clear example of the origin of the artificial geography of Burma, in the fabrication of which some texts have been flagrantly distorted and their sense deliberately misunderstood. Before going into this question of fabrication, let me be allowed to give here the Burmese legend which forms a kind of introduction to that of *Punna*.

In olden times, there was, in the Island of လိုင်းကြီး² (Hōn-kri: kyvan), a cultivator who possessed a magnificent bull; this bull, as strong as he was beautiful, was savage and vicious; no one but his master dared approach him: to do so would have been to run to a certain death. He had become the terror of the village, for he pursued and tore into pieces everything he found in his way, beasts and men. He had already carried mourning and sorrow into many families, and the fear of him had come to such a pitch that all work in the fields was at last neglected. This state of things could not last much longer, for famine and ruin were spreading their ravages in the neighbouring villages as well. The villagers assembled and, after a short discussion, unanimously resolved to destroy the ferocious animal. They apprized the owner of their intention, leaving him the choice to go somewhere else and take his bull with

Moreover, the word Brahma is well known to the Burmese, and is of very frequent occurrence in their sacred literature; it is always and rightly written: ပရာမာ (brahma); according to Burmese phonetics, ပရာ might become ပရား, (bram), but never, by any rule, ပရာ။ It is strange that, possessing already the name in its proper form (ပရာဗ္ဗာ, brahma), they should have altered it to ပရာ။ (prañ) for the city's name and to မရန်မာ (Mrañmā) for their own national appellation.

The Talaing for "Brahma" is ပရား (Brom, *pron.* Prām), a word extensively used in their literature, for they were under brahmanical influence for centuries; but they too, rejecting the proper, ready-made and well-known appellation (ပရာဗ္ဗာ), call Criksetra by a name (ပရာဗ္ဗာ) which, according to Talaing phonetics, cannot be a derivation of "Brahma."

(¹) Page 37 of the manuscript in my possession (page 3 of the 2nd chap.).

(²) One of the names by which Cape Negrais is known to the Burmese.

him. The farmer, who was attached to his fields, allowed them, after some demur, to do as they pleased. The villagers then armed themselves with sticks, pitchforks, bows, etc., and, after a quasi-homeric fight, brought the bull to his death ; they cut up the carcase there and then, and distributed its flesh. The happy event of the bull's death was, on the evening of the very same day, celebrated by a great feast, of which the enormous animal's flesh formed one of the most delicate dishes. Unfortunately, every violent act, however justifiable, has its retribution ; in consequence, all those who had taken part in the feast were born again in the forests of Sunāparanta, in Upper Burma. Some became bisons, some deer, rabbits, antelopes, wild-boars, etc., and the bull, their victim, became a hunter whose humble dwelling was a hut on the slope of the Maku/a Hill (the same which received, later on, the name of Saccabandha). This hill is now known also as "the Hunter's Hill."¹ His arrows never erred ; he roamed in the woods and on

(၁) မျှိုးကောင် (Mu-cho-ton), near Lè-kôn (လေထိုင်း), in the Minbu District. The legend has been perpetuated in the names of certain hills; for instance, the hill where he dried his skins is the "stretched-out-hides Hill," ဝားရောက်ကွင် Sā-re-kra-kon; the one where he strung his bow is to-day: ခံပွဲင် ကျိုး Lim (= le = လေား) -tan-kun; the forest wherein he pursued the hare is known as: ယုံကြည့်ကော် Yun-krañ-to; and so forth, cf. the legend given by Sir George Scott (*Upper Burma Gazetteer*, II, iii page 163). I do not know where Sir George has taken this story from; he has, I suppose, translated it from the Samōn, for it is essentially the same; but, surely, the dates mentioned are impossible. The Burmese always give the correct dates, as they are entered in the Mahārājavan, a work found everywhere in Burma; they perhaps might make an error of some years, but never one of several centuries, as Sir George does, and the dates which he gives are not those of the Samōn. He says that "in 248 B.E. (Burmese Era, that is to say, Caka, = 886 A.D.) Alaung Sithu, king of Pagan, visited the Shwe-zet-taw," but Alaung Sithu became king only in 1085 A.D., according to Phayre. In Vol. II, part ii, 307, he writes: "The legend says that king Alaung Sithu, in 470 B.E. = 1108 A.D., left Minbu and went to Saku, then called Ramawadi;" the difference between the two dates given for one and the same reign is consequently 222 years! The date 1108 is not that given by the Samōn for the visit of this king to Minbu, but Caka 454 = 1092 A.D. On the page already quoted, a few lines lower down (Vol. II, iii page 163), he says: "In 427 B.E. = 1065 A.D. the king Patama (Pathama) Min Gaung made a dedication of lands to the Shwe-z-t-taw." But Pathama Min Gaung ascended the throne only in 1401 A.D., and the Samōn tells us that, in Caka 763 (= 1401 A.D.), this king visited the famous foot-prints; here, the difference is 336 years!

the hills, playing great havoc among their wild inhabitants, whose flesh he sold to his customers.

It happened the One-thousand-eyed Çakra, looking down on the earth, descipted the hunter of Sunāparanta, whose bow had caused the as less death of so many innocent creatures, and his heart was moved with pity. He also perceived in the heart of the cruel hunter, as a fire mouldering under the ashes, a disposition towards spirituality which would make of him a great saint if he could be induced to embrace religious life. He, then, assumed the appearance of a hunter, descended to Sunāparanta and hid himself near a spot by which the destroyer had to pass. This hill is well known as Sa-krāpun-ton (သာကြားပနီးတောင်). The Sunāparanta hunter appeared; Çakra greeted him: "Friend, whither are you going?" "A hunting," replied the other, "for I must provide venison for my customers." Çakra, with his divine eloquence, shewed him the cruelty of thus killing innocent victims, and the terrible torments which such a profession had in store for him in the course of his future existences. "What!" exclaimed the astonished hunter, "are not you yourself a hunter? Do you not, too, make a living, in pursuing the deer in the forests?" What a fine sermon you are preaching me!" "My friend," answered Çakra,

One would be inclined to think that Sir George Scott follows a local legend giving false dates; but such is not the case, for the legend of the *Upper Burma Gazetteer* is merely that of the Samōn abridged, and as the dates of the Samōn agree with those of the Chronicles, one cannot understand these glaring errors in so serious a work. However, on the following page (II, iii page 164), under the heading Shwe-zi-gōn, he gives a date better in accordance with facts. There he writes: "It is said that the founder of the Shwezi-gōn is Prince Saw-Lu, a son of Anawyata Min Zau (Anuruddha-man-co), who visited Pindalē (now Minthalē) in 421 B.E. (= 1059 A.D.). Phayre makes Saw-Lu die in 1057 A.D. after a reign of five years, which is, according to the inscriptions, altogether wrong. Most of the dates given by Phayre (*History of Burma*) for the eleventh and twelfth centuries are inexact, and this part of his History must be read with great caution. As a matter of fact, the Chronicles themselves do not agree on those dates. For the beginning of Anorata's reign, the Mahārājavan gives 1017 A.D., and this is the date generally accepted; the old edition of the same work gives 967; the Svè Cun Kyò Tan (ဒ္ဓရံကျော်ဝါစ်), 1002 A.D. the Pagan Rājavan gives 999. Now, there is an inscription dated 984 A.D. erected by Anorata and speaking of a relic brought back from Thaton. All the other dates are viciated by this one. The date of his death, 1059, is confirmed by the inscriptions. The date of the fall of Thaton will perhaps have also to be corrected, although the Kalyāni gives 1057. The Talaing Chronicle

" my case is very different from yours. You kill all the animals you meet with, even when you are no longer in need of meat. I, on the contrary, with this infallible bow, scour the Himalayas in search of flying-deer, whose skin, sold to kings, brings me an immense profit. I kill not for the sole pleasure of killing. I came into these parts in pursuit of a certain flying-deer. Help me to find it. Here, take this my unerring bow and give me yours, and, if you find the deer, shoot it down." The hunter took Çakra's bow, and the latter disappeared among the trees. The divine weapon looked like a toy ; but, what was not his astonishment, when, despite all his efforts and his almost superhuman strength, he did not succeed in bending it ! In vain did he groan, and sweat and swear : the bow remained as rigid as the trunk of a tree centuries old. The time went swiftly by and no animal was killed, and his customers were waiting for venison. Tired, dispirited, he sat down. Çakra, still disguised as a hunter, appeared again to him. " My bow is not easy to bend, is it ? Well ! You will be able to bend it as easily as your own on one condition. You must promise to kill only deer one day, and the day after only does. On this trifling condition, you may keep my bow, which is matchless ; for it belongs to me, Çakra !" The hunter agreed, hastily took the bow and went about looking for deer ; but on that day, he

and inscriptions, which I hope to be in a position to decipher before long, *will doubtless throw a flood of light on these so important questions, as well as on the question, no less interesting, of the relations of Cambodia with the countries of the Irrawaddy Delta, relations absolutely ignored in Burmese Annals.

* The Talaing or Môn language has not yet been studied scientifically in the light of comparative philology ; there are gaps in the history of Burma and Pegu (*Rāmañña*) that will be filled probably only when the Talaing chronicles have been read and translated ; so, the affinities between the Môn and Khmer are still to be philologically established—the author, in the course of his studies of the Môn and Cambodian languages has been struck by the strong internal evidence of their relationship ; the name " Môn-Annam " for this family of languages will have to be abandoned, as the Annamese has, from internal evidence, nothing in common with the Talaing and the Khmer.

The writer has now a Talaing Grammar and Chrestomathy nearly completed. The enlightened help of Government, would, in this matter, greatly facilitate the prosecution of his studies and the early publication of their results.

found only does ; on the morrow he looked for does, but perceived deer only.. He then understood Çakra's stratagem and, bound by a solemn promise which he dared not break, he gave up hunting, became a hermit and retired to a hill. From that day, he was known under the name of Thissa-ban (= *sacca*, promise, and *bandha*, bound), and consequently the hill on which he lived received the same name. But he did not know the true religion (*viz.*, Buddhism), and he preached in Sunāparanta a false doctrine,¹ thus causing the people to be in danger of falling into hell. Near that spot, in the village called Vānija, lived two brothers, merchants, Mahāpun and Cūlapun Here the Samôn gives, more or less faithfully, the story in the Saññyuttatthakathā.²

If, now, we compare this legend and the translation of the Pâli text (*cf. infra* p. 15), which is its sequel, with the story of the *Divyāvadâna*, many points of resemblance and divergence become apparent. All the long story of the two brothers up to the departure of the elder one to Sâvatthi is unknown to the Samôn and is not given by the commentators on the *Punnovâda-sutta*. The only point of resemblance between the legend of the Samôn and that of the *Divyāvadâna* is the hunter who becomes a hermit and subsequently a saint (*arhat*) ; and still, neither the manner nor the instrument of his conversion is the same. But this slight resemblance is enough to make one think that, at a certain time, the Sanskrit version was not unknown in Burma. As is almost always the case, the Pâli is more sober of miraculous happenings than the Sanskrit, and these happenings are precisely the very points whereon the two versions differ. For instance, when, on the invitation of Punna, Gotama goes to Vânijagâma, the 499 monks accompanying him are carried through the sky in kiosques ; the *Divyāvadâna* makes them go there by means of wings, or riding on fantastic animals, and even in pots and vases. The Saññyuttatthakathâ speaks of only one *nâga*, but the Sanskrit, of five-hundred, every one of whom creates a river unto himself in order to go to

(¹) Are we to see in this "false doctrine" a remembrance of that *religion*, a medley of Mahâyânism, tantraism and Nâga-worship which prevailed in the Irrawaddy Valley before the introduction of Hinayânist Buddhism into Pagan and the priests of which were the Ari? This *religion* disappeared only in the fifteenth century, and has left very deep traces, not yet obliterated, in the beliefs and customs of the Burmese.

(²) *Vide infra*, p. 15, the text and its translation.

Sūrpāraka, etc. Notwithstanding these differences, the story is, on the whole, the same, and probably originated from the same source. The Sinhalese also have this legend, but they seem to know both versions; for in the fragments translated by Hardy,¹ Sūrpāraka, unknown to the Pāli text, is mentioned, and so is the river Narmadā (Nammadā), of which the *Divyāvadāna* does not speak. In fine, the two imprints of the Buddha's foot, which appear to form the one important point in the legend, are unknown to the compilers of the Sanskrit work.

My intention is not to write a treatise on the ancient geography of Burma, but merely to point out the arbitrary way in which some Indian place-names have been transplanted in Burma, in spite even of explicit texts. The Legend of Punna furnishes a very clear example of this manner of fabricating ancient kingdoms and of giving to relatively modern towns an air of hoary antiquity.

Mr. Burgess² asks himself how it is that most towns and even mere villages in Burma have two names,³ one indigenous,

(1) Spence Hardy, *Manual of Buddhism*, ed., 1853, pages 57, 209 and 259-260.

(2) *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XXX, pages 387-388.

(3) Some towns have many more than two names. In the *Paganrājavan* thirteen names of Pagan are enumerated: Pokkārāma, Arimaddanā, Punnāgāma, Tampavati, Siripaccayā, Sampunnāgāma, Pandupalāsa, Nagaruttama, Paramapura, Tampadesa, Velurākama (*Velukārāma?*), Samādhinagara, Pokkan (pron. Paukkan, from which the Burmese made Pukan = Pagan). The *Paganrājavan* gives the following etymologies, which teach us nothing concerning the etymology of "Pugam": "The Buddha having in relation to a *pok* tree (pron. *pauk*, *butea*), foretold the foundation of Pagan, the town was called "the *pok* garden" (*Pokkārāma*). It was named Arimaddanā because its kings always crushed their enemies. In Pagan, Brahmins (*punna*) lived in considerable numbers; they were traders and treasurers to the king, hence its name of Punnāgāma. (Another tradition says that the city was so called on account of its possessing large quantities of gold, silver and precious things; *punna* = full of. This derivation cannot stand; the first is probably the true one, for the Burmese have always known the Brahmins under the name of *punna*; Punnāgāma is one of the oldest and best known names of Pagan, and it shows, in an incontestable manner, the Indian influence in the 'city of Mien.') It was called Tampavati, Tampadesa and Pandupalāsa on account of the reddish colour of its soil; Siripaccayā, because of its glory and magnificence; Sampunnāgāma, because its inhabitants were devoted (lit., full of, *sampannā*) to the three Jewels: the Buddha, the Doctrine and the Church; Nagaruttama, 'The Famous,' on account of its faith and piety. It was

the other Pāli or Sanskrit. I think this fictitious geography has had its origin in the national vanity, and above all, in adulation of courtiers, both Burmese and Indian, and also of historians, who could imagine nothing more likely to minister to the religious bigotry of kings, than to make them rule over provinces recalling, at every step, the Buddha's Life and the early history of Buddhism. This fabrication may also have originated in the intense religious fervour of the two or three centuries which followed the introduction of the Hinayāna into Pagan. In fact, what more natural, at a time of the religious effervescence of a new faith, than to re-name according to the holy books, and as occasions presented themselves, cities and villages and in so doing to transfer to them the numerous legends of the *Atikathās*, sanctifying, so to say, the whole country, with the supposed presence of the Master? I think it is useless to search for more profound reasons regarding the origin of this apocryphal geography. Royal boastfulness and religious bigotry must have been, I believe, the two most powerful factors in this geographical deception.

As I have already said, the Legend of Punna, among a thousand others, furnishes us with a convincing proof of this: for the Pāli text makes it very clear that neither the Sunāparanta, nor the Nammadā, nor the Vānijagāma of the legend, are the places and the stream known under these names in Burma. The Sinhalese

called Paramapura, 'the Excellent City,' because of its numerous white elephants. On account of its powerful kings it was named Samādhinagara. The name *Velurākāma* (*Velukārāma*) it received from the extensive bamboo jungles which surrounded it. Pokkan is but an abbreviation of Pokkārāma."

The name "Pugāma" in the Kalyāni Inscriptions is not mentioned in the *Paganrājavan*: According to the rules of Burmese phonetics, Pugāma would necessarily become Pugan, long ā being never pronounced and rarely noted before a final consonant. I know not what Pugāma signifies; but I am inclined to believe that King Dhammadeti pālicized the word Pugan (Pagan). Lokānanda is also given as one of the names of Pagan, and this brings the number of its names to fourteen.

Tagoung is called: Sanghassarattha, Samsayapura, Pancāla. Prome: Crik setra, Vanavāsi, Patthanāpāi, Varapati, Punnavati. Arakan is known as: Rāmmāvati, Rakkhapura, Meghavati, Dhaññavati and Dvāravati (this last name is also applied to the Southern Shan States and to Siam). Manipur is: Nāgasyanta and Nāgapura. Kale becomes Rājagaha. Rangoon is known as Ukkalāpa and Verikkhaya.

having a Foot-Print, it was not proper that the Burmese should have none. An imaginary mark on any rock, having more or less the form of a foot, was a sufficient reason for transplanting bodily the scene of the story of *Punna* in a wild spot, and for making this spot a holy place of pilgrimage.

I do not know the exact time at which the name of Sunāparanta was given to the country extending behind Pagan, on the right bank of the Irrawaddy; but it cannot be earlier than the thirteenth century, or perhaps the end of the twelfth. The inscriptions of the eleventh and those of the twelfth century do not mention it. It is very remarkable that the inscriptions of these two centuries and even many belonging to the thirteenth, are composed in very sober language and are singularly free from those lists of kingdoms and empires, in which the kings of the subsequent centuries, in particular those of Ava and Amarapura, so much delighted. From the fact that I could not find this name of Sunāparanta in the most ancient inscriptions,¹ I would not absolutely affirm that it did not exist at that period (eleventh—twelfth centuries), but its absence at least inclines one to think so. This name, then, does not seem to be so ancient in Burma as has been believed up to now.² As to the form *Sonāparanta*: "This quasi-classical name of Indian origin, used in the Burmese Court in State documents and formal enumerations of the style of the king,"³ is absolutely unknown to the Burmese. They always write it Sunāparanta,

(1) The most ancient inscription found up to the present was engraved by Anorata-maṇi-co, and is dated *Caka* 346 = (984 A.D.). It was engraved on the occasion of the building of a shrine for a hair of Buddha, brought back from Thaton. Earnest researches will perhaps bring to light some others more ancient still.

(2) The *Paganrājavan* expressly says (page 37): "The spot whereon Cūlapun built the monastery of red sandalwood in Pūrantappa is now known as: Lē-kōn (လောက်တိုင်း)." Thus, Pūrantappa comprised: Lē-kōn, Saku (စုက္ခ), Son-svap (စွော်ဆွဲပါ), which are subsequently located in Sunāparanta. Purantappa and Sunāparanta designate, therefore, the same province: the first of these names is very nearly unknown now, and seems to be the most ancient. The Samōn (စမ်းနှင့်), not perceiving that these two names applied to the same region, gives them (page 23) as the names of two distinct provinces; it is a nonsensical blunder.

(3) Yule's *Hobson-Jobson*, ed. 1903, page 852, col. I.

and give it a very different etymology, as we shall presently see.

The Pāli text of the legend has certainly not in view the Sunāparanta of Burma, but the Konkan, the Western country: Aparanta, as, in fact, the Burmese themselves also call Sunāparanta; the Divyāvadāna calls the Konkan "Cronāparānta."¹ In Sunāparanta flows the Mammadā river (Sanskrit, Narmadā) which is none else but the modern Nerbudda, which throws its waters in the Gulf of Khambat.² The Sūrpāraka of *Divyāvadāna* is surely no other place but the Vānijagāma of the Pāli version. Vānijagāma would perhaps be better translated by "the town, or village, of the merchants." Now, Sūrpāraka, the Suppārakapattana mentioned in the *Mahāvamsa*, was a great trading port and the entrepot of Western India;³ it was then, *par excellence*, a *vānijagāma*, a merchant's city or mercantile town.

According also to the Pāli legend, Vānijagāma was a sea-port, since Culapunna embarks there to "cross the sea." Sūrpāraka is situated at the estuary of the Nerbudda, and there also, the commentators on the *Punnovādā-sutta* locate Vānijagāma; these two names, therefore, designate but one and the same town, situated near the mouth of a river in the Western country.

The Nammadā and the Vānijagāma of the Burmese do not fulfil any of these conditions. Their Sunāparanta or Aparanta is not to the West, but, according to Buddhist cosmology, to the East; their Nammadā is not a river flowing into the sea, but an insignificant hill stream flowing into a river; their Vānijagāma therefore cannot, in any possible manner, be a seaport. The author or authors of the Samōn have so well understood this that they make Culapunna embark at Negrais Island, in order to give to their falsification a plausible appearance of truth. As to the mountain "Makula" or "Mātula," it is with more common sense placed in India by the Mónrājavan.⁴

(1) Cf. Burnouf, *Introduction*, page 252 (or 225), note 2, where he says that Wilford, taking his information from the *Varāhasamhitā*, speaks of Aparāntikās situated to the west.

(2) McCrindle, *Ancient India as described by Ptolemy*, and Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. Supāra.

(3) McCrindle, *ibid.*

(4) Rangoon, 1899, page 75.

However, the names of Sunāparanta and Aparanta¹ having been given to a Burmese province, it became necessary to cite authoritative texts in order, if possible, to legalize, so to say, this plagiarism by means of the sacred books. And this, the Burmese have done, but very clumsily, for their favourite text goes directly against their assertion. The *Sāsanālankāra*² enumerating the names of the missionaries who, according to the *Dīpavamsa*³ were sent to different countries during the eighteenth year of Asoka's reign, and also the names of those countries, says that that *bhikkhu Yonarakkhitā* was sent to Aparanta (Aparāntaka) and adds that Aparāntaka is the same as Sunāparanta in Burma. As a conclusive proof of this identity he (the author of the *Sāsanālankāra*) gives⁴ the story of the Sakka (Sanskrit Çakra) Mandhātā: Mandhātā had brought with him to the *devaloka* an inhabitant from each of three of the four great islands or continents (mahādipa); these three unfortunate men being unable, for a very simple reason (they did not know the way, and the Sakka was dead), to go back to their homes, approached the *parināyakaratana*, viz., the Sakka's eldest son, who assigned to each of them a country corresponding, by its position at least, to the one he had left: Videha, being to the East, would, in future, be the country of the inhabitant of Puhbavideha, the Eastern island; Kuru, in the North, would become that of the citizen of the Northern Island, Uttarakuru; and the inhabitant of Aparagoyānadiipa, the Western Island, would have for his country Aparanta, the West-country.⁵ The *Sāsanālankāra* here, adds—"and as the son (sūna) of Sakka assigned to him this country to live in in future, Aparanta is also called Sunāparanta, "the West Country of

(¹) See *Inscriptions collected by King Bodawpaya*, Vol. I, page 19, line 12; *ibid*, page 43, line 5, and in many other places. Cf. *Vohāralinatthadipani*, page 221: "Sunāparanta, which includes: Caku, Calan, Bon-lan, Lè-kōn, Son-svap, etc.; Tampadipa, which includes: Sārehkettara, Pagan, Pan-ya, etc."

(²) Rangoon, 1897, page 22.

(³) Chapter VIII; also *Mahāvamsa*, Chapter XII.

(⁴) The author of the *Sāsanālankāra*, generally so accurate in his quotations, says that this story is found in the commentary on the *Mahāsatipathā-nasutta* (*Dighanikāya*, *Mahāvagga*, IX); it is not so: the story is in the commentary on the *Mahānidānasutta* (*ibid.*, II).

(⁵) *Mahanidānasuttatthakathā*.

'Sakka's son ; Sunāparanta or Aparanta is then, incontestably, in Burma (!)' Such is, in fact, the often recurring etymology given by the Burmese to this word : but the text is most flagrantly violated, for it shows clearly that the Commentators place Aparanta, *alias* Sunāparanta, to the West and not to the East, as the Burmese will at any cost have it.

From what has above been said it may be gathered : (a) That the Burmese, before the eleventh century and the beginning of the twelfth, do not seem to have known the bank of the Irrawaddy, behind and above Pagan, under the name of Aparanta or Sunāparanta. Pagan itself was included in the province of Tampadipa.¹ The inscriptions of that period do not mention this name (at least, as far as I have been able to verify this assertion by means of the inscriptions already published), and it is remarkable that the *Mahārājavan* in the long notice consecrated to Anorata, does not introduce this name, as also does the *Paganrājavan*² which places Saku, Lēkōn, Sōnsvap, etc. (towns always enumerated as being in Sunāparanta) in Pūrantappa, a name which is now forgotten and appears to be the original name of the province later known as Sunāparanta.

(b) That the form "Sonāparanta" is not known in Burma, though always given by Yule, the form Sunāparanta being always found in the inscriptions and in documents ; no Burmese authority anywhere gives to this word the meaning of the Aurea Regio of Ptolemy, and, if the ancients knew this part of Burma under this appellation, it seems to have been unknown by the Burmese themselves, who, after having borrowed it, under another form, from the Pāli *Atthakathās*, do not understand it as meaning "golden frontier."

(c) In the *Atthakathās*, Aparanta or Sunāparanta does not designate Central Burma, but a country situated to the West, on the sea-shore, possessing a famous seaport at the estuary of the river Nammadā (Narmadā, Nerbudda). Now, Aparanta has been identified with the Konkan ; Sūrpākara, the great trading centre

(¹) Cf. *supra*, page 13, note 1.

(²) The *Paganrājavan* uses the word "Sunāparanta" in the history of the reign of King Sen Lan Kron ; but the *Paganrājavan* was compiled many centuries after the fall of Pagan, and at a time when this name was popular and known to everybody ; it must, therefore, not be inferred from this that the name already existed in the time of Sen Lan Kron.

of Western India, with Supāra and the Narmadā with the Nerbudda; moreover, the Commentary on the *Dighanikāya* locates Aparanta, most expressly to the west.

The Burmese, then, have renamed, from a Pāli legend, a province, a torrent and a small town of the Valley of the Irrawaddy and, to justify themselves in doing so, have deliberately violated two texts which are most explicit and plain.

EXTRACT FROM THE PUNNOVADASUTTATHAKATHA.
TEXT.(1)

"Atha kho āyasmā Punno'ti..." Ko pan'esa Punno? Kasmā ca pan'ettha gantukāmo ahosīti? Sunāparantavāsiko² eva esa, Sāvatthiyam pana asappāyam vihāram sallakkhetvā, tattha gantukāmo ahosi. Tatrāyam anupubbikathā.

Sunāparantarat he kira ekasmim vānijagāme ete dve bhātaro; tesu kadāci je'tho pācasakatasatāni gahetvā janapadam gantvā bhandam āharati, kadāci kanittho. Imasmim pana samaye kanitham ghare thapetvā jetthabhātiko pācasakatasatāni gahetvā, janapadacārikam caranto anupubbena Sāvatthim patvā Jetavanassa nātidūre sakatasattham nivāsetvā, bhuttapātarāso parijanaparvuto phāsukatthāne³ nisidi. Tena ca samayena Sāvatthivāsino bhuttapātarāsā uposathangāni adhitthāya suddhuttarāsangā gandhapupphā⁴ dihatthā yena Buddho yena Dhammo yena Sangho tanninnā tapponā tappabbhārā hutvā, dakkhi⁵ nadvārena nikhamitvā Jetavanam gacchanti. So te disvā "kaham⁶ ime gacchantīti" ekam manussam⁷ pucchi. "Kin tvam ayyo na jānāsi loka Buddhadhammasangharatanāni⁸ nāma uppānnāni iccuso mahājano Satthu santikam dhammadhātum gacchaūti." Tassa Buddho'ti vacanam chavicammādīni chinditvā atthimiñjam āhacca atthāsi. Attano parijanaparivuto⁹ tāya¹⁰ parisāya saddhim vihāram

(1) I had at my disposal, to establish the text, two manuscripts. The first, *B*, very defective, is in the Bernard Free Library, Rangoon; the text is full of corrections and mistakes; the second, *A*, much more correct, was lent to me by the abbot of the Mezali monastery, Rangoon; it is written very legibly and contains but few mistakes. I, therefore, took it as a basis, merely noting the principal mistakes of *B*. A third manuscript was sent to me when the work was finished; but it is still more defective than *B*, of which it reproduces the majority of the mistakes; I did not, on that account, think it necessary to use it; it appears, moreover, to have been copied from *B*. (2) *A* Sunāparantare. (3) *B* bāsuka (4) *B* puppa .. (5) *B* dakkhana.... (6) *B* katam. (7) *B* manussa. (8) *A*... ratanānam. (9) *A* parivato. (10) *B* parijanaparivutāya parisāya.

gantvā Satthu madhurasarena dhammam¹ desentassa² parisa-pariyante thito dhammam³ sutvā pabbajjaya⁴ cittam⁵ uppādesi. Atha Tathāgatena kālam viditvā parisāya⁶ uyyojitāya Satthāram upasankamitvā vanditvā svātanāya nimantetvā, dutiyadivase mandapam kāretvā āsanāni paññāpetvā Buddhapamukhassa sanghassa mahādānam datvā, bhuttapātarāso upasathangāni⁷ adhitthāya bhandāgārikam pakkosāpetvā : " Ettakam dhanam⁸ vissajjitat, ettakam na⁹ vissajjitan ti " sabbam ācikkhitvā, "imam sāpateyyam mayham¹⁰ kanitthassa dehiti " sabbam niyyādetvā, Satthu santike pabbajitvā¹¹ kammathānaparāyano ahosi. Ath'assa kammathānam manasikarontassa kammathānam na upatthāti ; tato cintesi : " Ayam janapado mayham asappāyo¹², yannūnāham Satthu santike kammathānam gahetvā sakarattham eva gaccheyyan ti." Atha pubbanhasamaye¹³ pindāya caritvā sāyanhe¹⁴ patisallānā¹⁵ vutthahityā Bhagavantam upasankamitvā kammathānam kathāpetvā sattasihanāde¹⁶ naditvā pakkāmi. Tena vuttam : " Atha kho āyasmā Punno — pa — viharatīti.¹⁷" Kattha panāyām vihāsīti ? Catūsu thānesu vihāsi. Sunāparantararaththam tāva pavisitvā ca Appahatapabbatam nāma pavisitvā Vānijagāmam pindāya pāvisi. Atha nam kanitthabhātā sañjānitvā bhikkham datvā : " Bhante, aññattha agantvā idh'eva¹⁸ vasathāti " patiññam kāretvā tath'eva vasāpesi. Tato Samuddagirivihāram nāma agamāsi; tattha ayakantapāsānehi paricchinditvā katacankamo atthi; tam koci cankanitum samattho nāma n'atthi; tattha samudavīciyo¹⁹ āgantvā²⁰ ayakantapāsānesu paharitvā mahāsaddam karonti. Thero : " Kammathānam manasikarontānam phāsuvihāro hotūti " samuddam nisaddam katvā adhitthāsi. Tato Mātulagirim nāma agamāsi; tattha pi sakunasangho ussanno²¹ ratiñ ca divā ca saddo eko bandho²² va ahosi; thero : " Idam thānam na phāsu kan ti " tato Pakula²³ kārāmavihāram nāma gato; so Vānijagāmassa nātiduro naccāsanno gamanāgamanasampanno vivitto appa-

(¹) B dhamma. (²) B desentassam. (³) B dhamma. (⁴) A and B pappaj...

(⁵) A and B citta. (⁶) B pariyāya. (⁷) B, thagāni. (⁸) A has pana and omits dhanam.

(⁹) B has pana before na. (¹⁰) A omits mayham. (¹¹) B pappaj

(¹²) A appāyo. (¹⁸) B pubbanhasamaye. (¹⁴) B Sayanhe. (¹⁵) A...

sallānā. (¹⁶) B Satthusīhanānaditvā. (¹⁷) see text of the Saññuttanikāya, Salayatana, Punnovādasutta ed. Feer, Volume IV, page 63. (¹⁸) B icceva.

(¹⁹) A viciyo; B...gijaciyo. (²⁰) A agantvā. (²¹) B ussano. (²²) bhan to..

(²³) B Pakulha (?)

saddo; thero: "Imam thānam phāsukan ti" tattha rattitthānadinā-thānacankamanādīni kāretvā vāsam upagacchi. Evam catūsu thānesu vihāsi.

Ath'ekadivasam tasmin yeva antovasse pañcavānijakasatāni ¹: "Pārasamuddam gacchāmāti" nāvāya bhandam pakkhipimsu. Nāvārohanadivase therassa kanittabhbhātā theram bhojetvā therassa santike sikkhāpadāni gahetvā vanditvā: "Bhante, samuddo nāma asaddheyo ² anekantarāyo āvajjeyyāthāti" vatvā nāvam ³ āruhi. Nāvā uttamajavena ³ gacchamānā aññataram dīpakam pāpuni; manussā: "Pātarāsam karissāmāti" dīpake uttinnā. Tasmin pana dipake aññam kiñci n'atthi, candanavanam eva ahosi. Ath'eko vāsiyā rukkham ākoṭetvā lohitacandanabhāvam ñatvā āha: "Bho! mayam lābhatthāya pārasamuddam gacchāma, ito ca uttarim lābho nāma n'atthi, caturangulamattā ⁴ ghatikā satasahasram agghati, hāretabbayuttakam bhandam hāretvā candanassa püremāti. ⁵" Te tathā karimsu. Candanavane adhivattthā ⁶ amanussā kujjhītvā: "Imehi amhākar: candanavanam nāsitam ghātessāma ⁷ ne 'ti" cintetvā, "idh'eva ghātitesu sabbam'ekakunapam bhavissati samuddamajjhe nesam nāvam osidāpessāmāti ⁸" āhamsu. Atha tesam nāvam āruhyā muhuttam gatakāle yeva uppātikam ⁹ utthāpetvā sayam pi te amanussā bhayānakāni rūpāni dassayimsu. Bhītā manussā attano attano devatānam namassanti. Therassa kanitto Culapunno kuṭumbiko ¹⁰: Mayham bhātā avassayo hotūti" therassa nāmam saramāno atthāsi. Thero pi kira tasmin yeva khane āvajjītvā ¹¹ tesam byasanappatim ñatvā vehāsam uppātivā abhimukho atthāsi. Amanussā theram disvā va apakkamimsu ¹², uppātikam sannisidi. Thero: "Mā bhāyathāti" te assāsetvā, "kaham: gantukām'atthāti" pucchi. "Bhante, amhākam sakathānam eva gacchissāmāti. ¹³" "Thero nāvāgane akkamitvā: ¹⁴ "Etesam icchitatthānam gacchatūti" adhītthāsi. Vānijā sakathānam gantvā tam pavattim puttadārassa ārocetvā: "Etha, theram saranam gacchāmāti" pañcasatā pi attano pañcahi mātugāmasatehi saddhim tisu saranesu patitīhāya upāsakattam pativedesum. Tato nāvāya bhandam otāretvā therass'ekam kotthāsam ¹⁵ katvā: "Ayam, bhante, tumhākam

(1) B pānija... (2) B asaddvejo... (3) B utta pajagavana (!). (4) B caturagula. (5) B pürethāti. (6) A .. vatto. (7) A ghātes... (8) A and B osidissāmāti. (9) A uppādik... (10) A kutumpiko. (11) B bhāv... (12) B pakk... (13) A gacchāmāti. (14) B nāvāgane attametvā. (15) B katthakam.

kotthāso ti" āhañsu. Thero: "Mayham visum kotthāsakiccam
 n'atthi: Saithā pana tumhehi ditt̄hapubbo'ti?" — "Na dith̄hapubbo,
 bhante'ti." — "Tena hi, iminā Satthu mandalamālam karotha,
 evam Satthāram passissathāti." Te "Sādhu, bhante'ti" tena
 ca kotthāsenā attano ca kotthāsehi mandalamālam kāretum ārabhim-
 su. Satthā pi kira āraddhakālato patthāya paribhogam akāsi.
 Ārakkhamanussā rattim obhāsam disvā: "Mahesakkhā devatā
 atthiti" saññam ¹ karimsu. Upāsakā mandalamālañ ca bhikkhu-
 sanghassa ca āsanāni nitthāpetvā dānasambhāram sajjetva: "Ka-
 tam, bhante, amhehi attano kiccam, Satthāram pakkosathāti"
 therassa ārocesum. Thero sāyanhasamaye iddhiyā Sāvattīm
 gantvā: "Bhante, Vānijagāma vāsino tumhe datthukāmā, tesam
 anukampam karothāti" Bhagavantam yāci. Bhagavā adhivāsesi;
 thero sakatthānam eva paccāgato. Bhagavā pi Ānandatheram
 āmantesi: "Ānanda, sve ² Sunāparante Vānijagāme pindāya
 carissāma; tvam ekūnapancasatānam bhikkhūnam salākam dehitī."
 Thero: "Sādhu, bhante'ti" bhikkhusanghassa tam attham ārocet-
 vāna ³ va: "cārikabhikkhū salākam ganhantūti" āha. Tam
 divasam Kundodhānathero pathamam salākam aggahesi. Vānijagāma vāsino pi: "Sve kira Satthā āgamissati" gāmamajjhe
 mandapam katvā dānaggam sajjayimsu. Bhagavā pāto va sarīra-
 patijagganam katvā gandhakutim pavisitvā phalasamāpattim
 appetvā nisidi. Sakkassa pandukambalasilāsanam ⁴ unham ahosi.
 Su: "Kim idan ti" āvajjetvā Satthu Sunāparantagamanam disvā
 Visukammam āmantesi: "Tāta, ajja Bhagavā timsamattāni
 yojanasatāni pindacārikam gamissati; pañcakutāgārasatāni māpet-
 vā Jetavanadvārakotīhakamathake gamanasajjāni katvā thapehi
 ti." ⁵ So tathā akāsi. Bhagavato kutāgāram catumukham ahosi,
 dvinnam aggasāvakānam dvimukhāni, sesāni ekamukhāni. Satthā
 gandhakuñito nikkhamma pañipātiyā thapitakutāgaresu varakuñ-
 gāram pāvisi; dve aggasāvake ādim katvā ekunapañcabhikkhusa-
 tāni pi pañca ⁶ kutāgārasatāni ahesum, ekam tuccham kutāgāram
 ahosi; pañcakutāgārasatāni ākāse uppatismsu. Satthā Saccab-
 andhapabbatam nāma patvā kutāgāram ākāse thapesi. Tasmim
 pabbate Saccabandho nāma: micchāditthikatāpaso mahājanam
 micchāditthim uggañhāpento lābhaggayasaggapatto hutvā vasati.
 Ābbhantare c' assa antocātiyam padipo viya arahattaphalassa

(1) Āññām. (2) A se. (3) B ārocetvā navatarikabhikkhū... ganhantūti.

(4) ...B silāsanam.

(5) B. thapetīti. (6) The two Mss. omi tpañca.

upanissayo jalati. Tam disvā : "Dhammam assa ¹ kathessāmīti" gantvā dhammam ² desesi ; tāpaso desanāpariyosāne arahat-tam pāpuni, maggen'ev'assa abhinnā āgatā, ehibhikkhu hutvā iddhimayapattacivaradharo kutāgāram pāvisi. Bhagavā kutāgāra-gatehi pañcahi bhikkhusatehi saddhim Vānijagāmam gantvā kutāgārāni adissamānakāni katvā Vānijagāmam pāvisi. Vānijā Buddhapamukhassa sanghassa mahādānam datvā Satthāram Makuñakārāmam nayimsu ; Satthā mandalamālam pāvisi. Mahā-jano : "Yāva Satthā ³ gattadaratham patipassambhetiti ⁴" pātarāsam gantvā uposathangāni samādāya bahum gandhañ ca pupphañ ca ādāya dhammasayanatthāya ārāmam agamāsi ; Satthā dhammam desesi, mahājanassa bandhanā mokkho jāto ; mahantam Buddhakolāhalam ⁵ ahosi. Satthā mahājanassa sangahattham ⁶ sattāham tatth'eva vasi ; arunam pana mahāgandhakuñiyam utthā-pesi. Sattāham pi dhammadesanāpariyosāne caturāsityā pāna-sahassānam dhammābhismayo ahosi. Tattha sattāham ⁷ vasitvā Vānijagāme pindāya caritvā : "Tvam idh'eva vasāhiti" Punna-theram nivattetvā, antare Nammadānadi ⁸ nāma atthi, tassa tīram agamāsi. Nammadānāgarājā ⁹ Satthu paccuggamanam katvā nāgabhavanam pavesetvā tinnam ratanānam sakkāram akāsi. Satthā tassa dhammam kathetvā nāgabhavanā nikkhami ¹⁰ ; so : "Mayham, bhante, paricaritabbam dethāti" yāci. Bhagavā Nammadānādītire padacetiyam dassesi ; tam vicisu āgatāsu pidhī yati ¹¹ gatāsu vivariyati mahāsakkārappattam ahosi. Satthā tato nikkhomitvā Saccabandhapabbatam gantvā Saccabandham āha : "Tayā mahājato apāyamagge otārito ¹², tvam idh'eva vasitvā etesam laddhim ¹³ visajjāpetvā nibbānamagge patiññāpehīti." So'pi paricaritabbam yāci. Satthā ghana ¹⁴ pitthipāsāne allamat-tika ¹⁵ pindimhi ¹⁶ lañchanam viya padacetiyam dassesi. Tato Jetavanam eva gato. Etam attham sandhāya : "Ten'evantaravas-sen'ādi" ¹⁷ vuttam. (Parinibbāyīti anupādhisesāya nibbānadhā-tuyā parinibbāyī) ¹⁸. Mahājato therassa sattadivasāni sarirapū-jam katvā babūni gandhakatthāni samodhānetvā sariram jhāpetvā dhātuyo ādāya cetiyam akāsi.

(¹) B dhommassa. (²) B omits dhamma-n. (³) B sattā. (⁴) A patipas...
 (⁵) B... kolū alam. (⁶) B sangāh... (⁷) B satth'uham. (⁸) B Nammadā-nānādī. (⁹) B Nammadānānāgarājā. (¹⁰) B Nnikkhamam. (¹¹) B viyati.
 (¹²) A otarito. (¹³) B laddham. (¹⁴) A ghānap .. (¹⁵) B... patti. (¹⁶) B... pindamhi.

(¹⁷) See the text of the Punnavādasutta, loc. laud. (¹⁸) This belongs to the commentary on the *sutta*.

TRANSLATION.

"At that time,¹ are we told, the reverend Punna" But who was this Punna? and why was he desirous to go there?² He was a native of Sunāparanta and perceiving that the sojourn of Savatthi was not suitable³ to him, he wished to go back to his country. Here is the regular story.

In a certain merchants' village⁴ in the kingdom of Sunāparanta there lived these two brothers.⁵ Sometimes the elder, taking five hundred carts, would go to the districts and bring goods; at other times the younger one would go. Now on this occasion, the elder brother left the younger one at home, took five hundred carts and went from district to district so that in time he reached Savatthi, and made his caravan encamp not far from the Jetavana. Then having breakfasted, he sat down, surrounded by his retinue, in an agreeable spot. At this moment, the citizens of Sāvatthi, after their morning meal, having resolved to observe the *Uposatha* precepts were leaving the town by the southern gate and going to the Jetavana clad all in white, carrying perfumes, flowers and so forth, attracted by an invincible inclination towards the Buddha, the Doctrine and the assembly of the Brethren. Punna saw them, and asked one of them: "Whither are these going?" "What! Sir, dost not thou know that the Three Jewels—the Buddha, the Doctrine, and the Assembly of the Brethren—have appeared in the world? These people are going to the Buddha to hear him preach the Law." The word "Buddha" thrilled⁶ him. Surrounded by his retinue he repaired to the monastery with the congregation and standing behind them, listened to the master preaching the doctrine in a sweet voice; having heard the doctrine he conceived a desire for the religious life. When the Tathāgata, knowing the moment was come, had sent back the assembly, Punna approached the master and having

(1) In the Saññutta-nikāya (cf. ed. Feer, Vol. IV, page 60).

(2) That is, to Sunāparanta.

(3) For the exercise of Kammathāna, or religious meditation.

(4) Vānijagāma, might also be translated as a proper noun: Hardy, *Manual of Buddhism*, page 260, translates this word by "the merchant's village."

(5) That is, Mahāpunna, the elder and the hero of the story, and his brother Cūlapunna cf. page 1.

(6) Lit., "pierced his skin and penetrated to the marrow of his bones."

saluted him, invited him for the morrow. On the next day, he had a pavilion built wherein he prepared seats, and gave great offerings to the clergy with Buddha at their head; then, himself having finished his morning meal, bound himself to observe the eight precepts. He then called his treasurer: "So much has been spent, so much has not been," and he gave him the account of everything; "Give this property to my younger brother"; and he made over everything to him, after which, he received ordination at the master's hands and lost himself in meditation. But although he devoted himself to it, he did not succeed: then, he thought, "This country is not favourable to me; what if I were to ask for a subject for meditation from the Master and go back to my country?" He made his morning tour for food, and, in the evening, rising from his seclusion, approached the Blessed One and having made him recite a formula for meditation, uttered seven joyful exclamations and departed. It is why it is said: "*At that time the reverend Punna . . . dwelt.*" But where did he dwell? He dwelt in four places. He first entered the kingdom of Sunāparanta, went to the Appahata mountain, and entered into the merchants' village (*Vānijagāma*) for his food. His brother recognized him, fed him and told him: "Reverend, do not go anywhere else, but dwell even here," and having made him promise to do so, he put him up in that place. Thence, he went to the Samuddagiri (the ocean mountain) monastery, where there was a cloistered walk marked out by lodestones;¹ but nobody could walk therein (to meditate), for the billows, breaking on those stones, made a great noise. The *thera* said: "Let this be a pleasant spot for those given up to meditation" and, by the power of his resolution, he made the ocean quiet. Thence he repaired to the Mātula mountain; but there, too, were flocks of birds, making a perpetual noise, night and day; the *thera* thought: "This spot is not suitable," and he went to the monastery of Pakulaka. This monastery was neither far from nor near the merchants' village; it was in a retired spot, quiet, and communications were easy. The *thera*, thinking: "This is a suitable place," had built therein for himself a cell for the night and one for the day, a covered walk, etc., and

(1) Cf. Hardy, *Manual of Buddhism*, page 260; to these places he gives the names of Mudugiri, Mailigiri and Muluarāma.

dwelt there. Thus he lived in four places.¹ Then, one day, in that very period of *vassa*, five hundred traders, intending to cross the ocean, loaded a ship with goods. On the day of embarking the *thera's* younger brother, having fed the latter and received from him the precepts,² saluted him : "The ocean, your reverence, is not to be trusted ; it is full of dangers ; you should think (of us)." Having thus spoken he went on board. The ship, going with great speed, came to a certain island : "Let us prepare breakfast," said the men and they disembarked on the island. Now, on that island, there was nothing but a forest of sandal ; one of the traders, having struck a tree with an axe and perceiving it was red sandal, said : "Friends ! we cross the seas for the sake of gain ; now, there is no greater gain than from this, a bit about four inches³ is worth one hundred thousand (coins). Let us get rid of all the goods we can and let us make a full cargo of sandalwood." So they did. The goblins⁴ inhabiting the sandal forest were enraged : "Our sandal forest has been destroyed by these people, let us kill them !" said they ; but they reflected : "If we kill them here, the whole island will become a charnel house ; let us sink their vessel in mid-ocean." The traders re-embarked ; but after a few moments, the goblins caused a storm to rise and shewed themselves to them under fearful shapes. Terrified, the men worshipped each his tutelary deity. The *thera's* brother, Cūlapunna the householder, thought : "Let my brother be my refuge !" and he mentally invoked the *thera's* name. At this very moment, the *thera*, thinking (of the merchants) perceived they were near their ruin ; he rose into the sky and stood before them. The goblins seeing him, fled. "Do not fear," said the *thera* to the traders, and having comforted them,

(1) The whole story, from beginning to end, occupies but one season of *vassa* or "rainy season." Mahāpunna was looking out for a suitable spot, wherein to spend, in quiet, the lenten season, as is practised even now-a-days, and retired at last near Vānijagāma (the Lè-kôn ဝေယာ်ငါး, of the Burmese).

(2) It must be understood that he promises the Thera to observe the five moral precepts or *sila*, which are binding on all good Buddhists.

(3) Burnouf, *Introduction* (page 258 or 230), speaks of a Tibetan measure called *pho* : the Burmese have also a weight, now become obsolete, called *pō* and equal to five ticals ; it is mentioned in the Burmese version of the *Vessantara-jātaka*.

(4) a-manussā = non-men.

he enquired whither they desired to go ; they answered : " Reverend Sir, we wish to go to our country." The *thera* came on deck and formed the mental resolution—" Let this ship go where they desire !" The merchants, having gone back to their country, told these events to their families : " Come," said they, " let us take our refuge in the *thera*,¹" and the five hundred merchants, with their five hundred wives, having been established in the Three Refuges,² announced they were (now) lay disciples. They then unloaded the vessel, and offered one share (of the sandal cargo) to the *thera*, saying, " Reverend Sir, here is your share." But he answered, " I have personally no need of a share. But, have you ever seen the Master ?" " No, Reverend Sir, we have never seen him." " Very well, then, with this share build a pavilion,³ and thus, you will see the Master." " Very well, Reverend," said they, and with his share and theirs they began building the pavilion. It is said that, from the time they began to build, the Master took possession of it. The watchmen, seeing in the night a light, thought that a powerful god lived there. The lay disciples having finished the building, arranged seats for the clergy and prepared the things intended as offerings, apprized the *thera* that their task was over and that he should invite the Master. Early in the morning, the *thera*(⁴) went to Savatthi by means of his superhuman power and begged of the Blessed One : " Lord, the inhabitants of Vānijagāma are desirous to see you ; do them this favour." The Blessed One consented, and the *thera* came back, and the Blessed One called the *thera* Ānandā : " Ānandā," said he, " to-morrow, we shall go to Vānijagāma in Sunāparanta, for our food, give out tickets to 499 monks." The *thera* said : " Even so, Lord" ; and, having told that matter to the assembled monks, he invited those that had to come to take their ticket. On that day, the *thera* Kundodhāna took out the first ticket.⁵ The inhabitants of Vānijagāma, knowing the Master would come on the morrow, built a

(1) That is, " Let us become Buddhists and the Thera's disciples."

(2) The Buddha, his Doctrine and the Order.

(3) The *samân* says : a monastery. It is supposed still to exist under the name of Nan-sâ-kron (ນັນສັກຮອນ), "the sandal monastery."

(4) Hardy, *Manual of Buddhism*, page 209, translates : " the priest Sunāparanta," instead of : " the priest of Sunāparanta."

(5) Mere allusion to an incident which is told *in extenso* in the *Divyāvadāna*. Burnouf, *Introduction* (page 260 or 232, note 1), tries to find the etymology of

shed in the middle of the village and prepared a hall for the offerings. The Blessed One, having finished his ablutions early in the morning, entered his room (lit., the Perfumed Chamber) and sat, meditating deeply on the fruition of the Path. The marble throne of Sakka (Sanskrit Çakra) became hot. Sakka considered what the cause was, and, seeing the Master was about to go to Sunāparanta, he called Visukamma (Sanskrit Vicvakarman) : " Dear son, to-day, the Blessed One will go on a begging tour of thirty and one hundred *yojanas* : make five hundred kiosks and place them, ready to go, on the portico of the Jetavana. Visukamma did so. The kiosk of the Blessed One had four entrances, those of the two principal disciples¹ had two, and the rest one entrance each. The Master left his room, and, among the kiosks ranged in a line, entered the most magnificent. Counting the two principal disciples, there were four hundred and ninety-nine monks and five hundred kiosks, of which one was empty. The five hundred kiosks rose into the sky. When the Master arrived at the mountain called Saccabandha, he stopped his kiosk in the air. On this mountain lived a religious heretic, known as Saccabandha, who taught

the name : *Kundopadhāna* ; it will be remarked that the pāli text calls this monk simply : *Kundodhāna*. He is also mentioned (*Ekanguttara*, *Etadaggavaggo*) as being one of the eighty principal disciples of the Buddha, and the commentary on the *Ekanguttara* gives, to explain his name, this amusing story. In a previous existence he had been a *Bhūma-devatā* and committed certain faults, the fruits of which he reaped in his subsequent states of existence ; the commentary goes on :

" *Bhumadevatā tassa kammassa nissandena ekam buddhantaram apāyato na muccitha ; sace pana kālena kālam manussattam āgacchatī aññena kenaci kato doso tass'eva upari patati. Eso amhākam Bhagavato kāle Sāvatthiyam brāhmaṇakule nibbatti ; Dhānamānavo'ti tassa nāmam akamsu. So vayappatto tayo bede uggañhitvā mahallakakāle Satthu dhammadesanam sutvā paññiladdha-saddho pabbajitvā tassa upasampannadivasato patthāya ekā alankatapatiyatā itthi, tasmin gāmam pavisante tena saddhim eva gāmam pavisati, nikkhante nikhammati, vihāram pavisante pi pavisatīti, titthante pi titthati. Evam nicānubandhā paññāyati. Therotam pana passati, tassa pana purimassa kammassa nissandena upatthitvā (?) gāme yāgubhikkham dadamānā itthiyo : ' Bhante, ayam eko yāgu ulunko tumhākam, eko imissā amhākam sahāyikā'yā'ti' parihāsam karonti. Therassa mahatī vihesā hoti ; vihāragatam pi sāmanerā c'eva harabhikkhū ca parivāretvā : ' Dhāno kondō jāto'ti' parihāsam karonti. Ath' assa ten'eva kāranena kondodhānathero'ti nāmam jātam.* "

(1) Moggallāna and Sāriputta.

heretical doctrines to the people ; he enjoyed the best offerings and the greatest honours ; but in his heart, like a lamp hidden in a vase, shone his predestination to sanctity. Seeing this (the Buddha thought) : "I will expound the Doctrine to him" and going, preached a sermon to him. The monk, at the end of this religious instruction, became a saint, and in the way, ¹ obtained the six supernatural faculties, and then, having became a monk according to the formula, ² "Ehi bikkhu," he suddenly found himself carrying an alms-bowl and wearing robes created by the miraculous power of the Buddha ; and he entered into the kiosk. ³ Then, the Blessed One with the five hundred monks in their kiosks, went towards the merchants' village (*Vānijagāma*), and having made the kiosks invisible, entered the village. The merchants, having given great offerings to the clergy with the Buddha at their head, took the Master to the Makula Monastery, and the Master entered into the pavilion. The people said : "Meanwhile, let the Master rest himself from his bodily fatigue," and they went to their breakfast ; then, they took upon themselves the performance of the precepts and, loaded with perfumes and flowers, went to the monastery to listen to the Law. The Master expounded his Doctrine, and the people were freed from their bonds ; and there was a great uproar caused by the Buddha's presence.

The master dwelt there for a week, for the people's spiritual benefit, sitting up in the "Perfumed Chamber" ⁴ till the break of day. At the close of these seven days' preaching, 84,000 persons attained to the understanding of the Law. Having (then) dwelt there for a week, he entered *Vānijagāma* on his begging tour, and, assigning it to the *Thera Punna* for his residence, left him. On the way there was a river called *Nammadā* ; he went to the bank thereof. The king of the *Nāgas* came forth to meet the master, took him into the *Nāga*-mansion and did honour to the Three Jewels. The Master unfolded to him the Doctrine and left his abode, and the *Nāga* king begged of him : "Lord, give me

(1) That is, while he was advancing towards the Buddha.

(2) "Ehi, bhikkhu ! Come, O mendicant !" This was the usual formula with which the Buddha received in his Order, the persons desirous of leading the religious life.

(3) The kiosk which had been kept empty.

(4) Thus was called his private room.

something that I may honour." ¹ The Blessed One impressed ² and left as a relic the mark of his foot on the bank of the river Nammadā. This imprint was covered by the waves at the time of high water, and uncovered when the water subsided, and it was greatly venerated. The Master left this spot, went to the Saccabandha mountain and said to Saccabandha : "Through thee, the people have entered on the way to perdition ; stay here, make them reject these false notions and establish them in the way to Nirvāna." He, too, asked of the Master something which he might revere. The Master imprinted the mark of his foot on the solid, flat rock as easily as he would have done on a lump of wet clay. Thence, he went back to the Jetavana.

It is in connection with this matter that it is said : " In this very season of Lent (Punna) attained to parinirvāna." ³ (By these words, it must be understood that he reached that state wherein no traces remain of the components of corporeal and

(¹) To wit : a relic.

(²) Lit., shewed.

(³) *Vide* text of the *Saññiyutta-nikāya* already mentioned.

The two sacred foot-prints always were for the people and the kings in the course of long centuries, a great object of veneration, up to the reign of Cackōn Ci Sū Kyo Tan (စုနိဂုံးဓမ္မညူကျော်စုံ). In his time, fervour and piety seem to have greatly diminished ; for, from this reign, the *Shwe-set-taw* (sacred foot-print) was abandoned by degrees, and then completely forgotten, so that in 1590 A.D., no one in Burma seemed to be aware of the existence of the sanctified spot, not even the inhabitants of the Minbu District. This strange neglect is accounted for by the perpetual wars and revolutions of this troubled period. The foot-prints were discovered anew, amid quasi-miraculous circumstances, in the reign of Sālvan Man Tarā, သာတန်မင်းတရား (1629—1648). On a certain day, the king, hearing the story of Punṇa, such as it is in the *Punnovāda-thakathā*, which has been given above, ordered informations to be taken about those foot-prints, but nobody could give any. The place was overgrown with thick vegetation, and no one remembered having even heard of them. The king asked the help of the famous bishop Ton Bhilā (တော်ဘီလာ). This bishop is the author of the following works : *Vinayālankāratikā sac*, on the *Vinaya*; *Atthasālinī ū gāthā aphvan*, a commentary on the first twenty *gāthā* of the *Atthasālinī*; *Sālvan Man Tarā amē aphyé*, answers to king Sālvan Man Tarā's Questions, and *vessantarā pyō*, a metrical version of the *Vessantarajātaka*. He went, accompanied by four other bishops and twelve monks, in search of the famous foot-prints. The king gave them, it is said, a guard of five thousand men to protect them against the Chins (written *Khyan*) and the wild Karens (Karan ရား, ဘရန်ရှင်း). They left Ava in 1638, carried on red palanguins, went down the Irrawaddy in boats and landed at Minbu. The four bishops camped under a large tree, and in the evening recited prayers and texts from the *Tipitaka*.

mental individuality). The people paid great honours to the remains of the *thera* during seven days and, having gathered a large quantity of fragrant wood, they cremated him, took his relics and erected a shrine (*cetiya*, Sanskrit *caitya*) over them.

Ton Bhilā recited long passages from the *Patthāna*, one of the *Abhidhamma* books and retired to sleep very late. At three in the morning, he had a dream. A man holding a spear in his hand and followed by a great black dog, approached him and said: "My Lord, the forests into which you are going to venture are very extensive and very wild; they swarm with lions, tigers, panthers and snakes; why do you come here?" The bishop answered: "We are the disciples of Gotama, the Buddha. We learned from the commentary on the Saññiyutta-nikāya that the Buddha came to this region and impressed, at the request of a *Nāga* and of a hermit, two marks or his left foot. These imprints, long adored by the Burmese people, have been, owing to wars and revolutions, forgotten and have at last disappeared; at least nobody knows where they are. We have come to look for them." The man said: "My Lord, follow this black dog wherever he goes." And while he was still speaking, Ton Bhilā awoke, and told his dream to the other bishops. They took their meal early and entered the forest. And, lo! before them appeared the black dog; he conducted them to the banks of the Man Kyon, မန္မတနာဂတ် (Nammadānadi), and suddenly disappeared. They crossed the torrent and, on the bank they saw a Bhilū (*yakkhu*) seated on the trunk of a tree, who asked them whither they were going; and, on hearing their object, he pointed out to them, with a nod of his head, the hill whereon were the foot-prints. All of a sudden, the guardian-spirit of the hill changed himself into a crow, and, alighting on the very spot where was the sacred relic, attracted, by his peculiar cries and cawings, the attention of the bishops. The foot-print on the summit of the hill was soon discovered, and the bishops, the monks and the soldiers were lost in profound adoration. During the following night, Ton Bhilā again recited the *Patthāna*, and the spirits of the hills and woods came around him and listened respectfully. "Who are you!" asked the bishop. A Nat (spirit) who was *sotāpanno* (who had entered the First Path) said: "I am a *sotāpan* (*sotāpanno*) Nat." "Hast thou known the Buddha?" "Yes," said the Nat. "Is my recitation of the *Patthāna*," asked the bishop rather vainly, "good? Do I pronounce as the Buddha?" "Ahem! One can, with a deal of good will, guess what thou art reciting," answered the spirit. The pious bishop was incensed; but the Nat soon consoled him and told him to make the resolution to become a Buddha in times to come; so did at once Ton Bhilā. He spread his mantle on the foot-print and said: "If it be true that I shall become a Buddha, let the impress of the sacred foot be apparent on my mantle!" It is said that his mantle rose into the air in the form of a heron and, when it came down again, the divine imprint was impressed thereon. The bishop has, since that time, been considered as a *bodhisattva*. They had then to look for the foot-print left on the bank of the stream; that was easy enough, for it sent forth a bright light. A *cetiya* (Burmese *ceti*, ကော်), was erected over each foot-print, which, since that time, attracts every year thousands of pilgrims from all parts of Burma.